

**Disarm Authority!
Arm Your Desires!**

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Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & the Liberation of Desire

#48/Fall-Winter 1999-2000
Vol.17, No.2

\$4.95

Anarchy

A Journal of Desire Armed

Michael William
The Collapse of the
Ecology Montreal Party

Alfredo Bonnano
Self-Management

Post-Left Anarchy!
Alex Trotter
Lawrence Jarach
John Zerzan
Manolo Gonzalez

Ted Kaczynski
First Prison Interview

And reviews, including:
The Congress of Clowns,
Film & the Anarchist Imagination,
and All-American Anarchist

Post-Left Anarchy?

There remain large numbers of anarchists who continue to identify closely with the political left in one form or another. But there are increasing numbers ready to abandon much of the dead weight associated with the left tradition. Many pages of this issue are devoted to beginning a new exploration of what is at stake in considering whether or not identification with the political left has outworn any benefits for anarchists.

For most of their existence over roughly the last couple centuries, consciously anarchist activists, theorists, groups and movements have consistently inhabited a minority position within the eclectic world of would-be revolutionaries on the left. In most of the world-defining insurrections and revolutions during that time—those which had any significant permanence in their victories—authoritarian rebels were usually an obvious majority among active revolutionaries. And even when they weren't, they often gained the upper hand through other means. Whether they were liberals, social-democrats, nationalists, socialists, or communists, they remained part of a majority current within the political left explicitly committed to a whole constellation of authoritarian positions. Along with an admirable dedication to ideals like justice and equality, this majority current favors hierarchical organization, professional (and, too often, cults of) leadership, dogmatic ideologies (especially notable in its many Marxian variants), a self-righteous moralism, and a widespread abhorrence for social freedom and authentic, non-hierarchical community.

Especially after their expulsion from the First International, anarchists have generally found themselves facing a hard choice. They could locate their critiques somewhere within the political left—if only on its fringes. Or else they could reject the majority opposition culture in its entirety and take the chance of being isolated and ignored.

Since many, if not most, anarchist activists have come out of the left through disillusionment with its authoritarian culture, the option of clinging to its fringes and adapting its themes in a more libertarian direction has maintained a steady allure. Anarcho-syndicalism may be the best example of this kind of left-anarchism. It has allowed anarchists to use leftist ideologies and methods to work for a leftist vision of social justice, but with a simultaneous commitment to anarchist themes like direct action, self-management, and certain (very limited) libertarian cultural values. Murray Bookchin's ecological anarcho-leftism, whether going by the label of libertarian municipalism or social ecology, is another example. It is distinguished by its persistent failure to gain much of a foothold anywhere, even in its favored terrain of Green politics. A further example, the most invisible (and numerous?) of all types of left-anarchism, is the choice of a great many anarchists to submerge themselves within leftist organizations that have little or no



commitment to any libertarian values, simply because they see no possibility of working directly with other anarchists (who are often similarly hidden, submerged in still other leftist organizations).

Perhaps it's time, now that the ruins of the political left continue to implode, for anarchists to consider stepping out of its steadily disappearing shadow *en masse*. In fact, there's still a chance, if enough anarchists can dissociate themselves sufficiently from the myriad failures, purges and "betrayals" of leftism, that anarchists can finally stand on their own.

Along with defining themselves in their own terms, anarchists might once again inspire a new generation of rebels, who this time may be less willing to compromise their resistance in attempts to maintain a common front with a political left that has historically opposed the creation of free community wherever it has appeared. For the evidence is irrefutable. Libertarian revolutionaries of any type have consistently been denied a presence in the vast majority of leftist organizations (from the International on); forced into silence in many of the left organizations they have been allowed to join (for example, the anarcho-Bolsheviks); and persecuted, imprisoned, assassinated or tortured by any leftists who have attained the necessary political power or organizational resources to do so (examples are legion).

Why has there been such a long history of conflict and enmity between anarchists and the left? It is because there are two fundamentally different visions of social change embodied in the range of their respective critiques and practices (although any particular group or movement always includes contradictory elements). At its simplest, anarchists—especially anarchists who identify least with the left—commonly engage in a practice which refuses to set itself up as a political leadership apart from society, refuses the inevitable hierarchy and manipulation involved in building mass organizations, and refuses the hegemony of any single dogmatic ideology. The left, on the other hand, has most commonly engaged in a substitutive, representational practice in which mass organizations are subjected to an elitist leadership of intellectual ideologues and opportunistic politicians. In this practice the party substitutes itself for the mass movement, and the party leadership substitutes itself for the party.

In reality, the primary function of the left has historically been to recuperate every social struggle capable of confronting capital and state directly, such that at best only an ersatz representation of victory has ever been achieved, always concealing the public secret of continuing capital accumulation, continuing wage-slavery, and continuing hierarchical, statist politics as usual, but under an insubstantial rhetoric of resistance and revolution, freedom and social justice.

The bottom-line question is, can anarchists do better outside the left—from a position of explicit and uncompromising critique, than those who have chosen to inhabit the left have done from within?

Jason McQuinn, Editor

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Cover Collage: Keith Rozendal

Anarchy #48

Fall/Winter 1999-2000

Press run: 6,600
ISSN 1044-1387
LC 88-1329
OCLC 11733794
Printed in USA

PUBLISHED BY
C.A.L. Press

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Special thanks to A. Hacker.

The views expressed in the articles, graphics, letters, etc. published in *Anarchy* do not necessarily reflect the views of C.A.L., or the editorial & production staff.

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"The whirligig of time has its revenges."
-B.A.G. Fuller

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\$36.00/four issues by Airmail outside the U.S.

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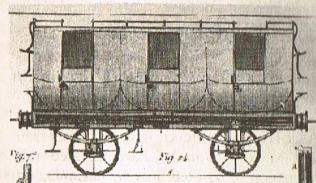
Reclaim the Trains!

By the Collective Without Money

On June 29th a group of 80 Dutch activists jumped the train from Amsterdam to Cologne without a ticket. Their demand was free transport to the demonstration against the anti-social EU-project in Cologne. The Dutch "Collective Without Money" states that public transport exists to serve people and not to make profit.

Free train actions to anti-capitalist meetings and demonstrations are happening a lot in countries like Italy, France and, recently, Belgium. The Dutch action was the first one the Netherlands has seen since the anti-nuclear protests in the early eighties when free trains transported hundreds of thousands to huge demos.

Getting on the train went surprisingly easy and the cops were not able to stop the first 60 activists from entering the train. Afraid of chaos—and delays—in the train stations, they made a first attempt to separate the first passenger car (the one with activists) in Arnhem. The attempt failed totally since the emergency break was pulled and people forced their way out of the train—accidentally demolishing an emergency exit. The train activists demanded that their colleagues from Arnhem enter the train and that the train leave for Germany. Both demands were granted by the cops who were panicking since they couldn't do anything without causing a huge delay for the interna-



with cops).

One more serious attempt was made to block the next train to Cologne, but it failed because the cops, dealing only with the activists, started beating people up. They flew in two huge Chinook helicopters with more cops and negotiations started again. The cops refused further travel in Germany, claiming we had caused them enough shit for one day. The cops said the group would be sent back after an identity check. The activists, tired of playing a cat and mouse game with the cops for hours, then demanded a free train back all the way to Amsterdam, and said to the cops they would only go as one group (including the 7 people who did not have passports with them) and only after the had confirmation that the one person arrested was released. Both demands were answered in a positive way and the whole group went back to Arnhem (NL). From their 15 people took a specially arranged bus to Cologne. The rest went directly home.

For a first free train action it all went quit well and, although we lost the demo, we were part of a strong action and all had a good time. Most of all, we learned a lot for our campaign to have free trains and we are positive that the Dutch railway company eventually will understand that it is better to come to an understanding with us, like the Railway companies did in Italy, France and Belgium.

Inside Anarchy

A lot has happened since the Spring/Summer issue of *Anarchy* showed up last April. Most notably, the June 18th "Reclaim the Streets!" demonstrations in London, England and Eugene, Oregon. I mention London for the obvious reason that it successfully shut down the financial district with a maximum of festivity and chaos, along with a minimum of arrests and injuries! Yet, though the Eugene march and riot were very small in comparison, their ramifications for the North American movement may in the end be as important, as John Zerzan points out on page 50 in "New Movement on Horizon."

Certainly, fallout from the June 18th events has had a great effect on this magazine, though not the kind we'd prefer. Comrade Rob los Ricos (aka Rob Thaxton)—who played a large part assisting in production of the last issue of *Anarchy* back in Missouri—was arrested, tried and imprisoned for throwing a rock at a cop who was charging at him after the Eugene march. See the account by Wolfi on page 20 for details of the vicious criminal (in)justice system attack directed at him—in presumed retaliation for his alleged participation in the combative, yet festive, rioting there which made Eugene police look powerless for a few brief moments. Please support Rob's defense so that he can appeal his conviction by the violently anti-anarchist Oregon court.

As this issue goes to press, many anarchists will be amongst the thousands converging on the Seattle World Trade Organization talks, hoping to turn radical opposition to global capital up another notch in this country. If the events in Eugene help inspire a more contentious approach to protests in Seattle, the promise of a renewed anarchist movement may already begin bearing more visible fruit.

In related veins, Michael William continues to detail the sordid practice of real-existing "Libertarian Municipalism" in Part Two of "The Collapse of the Ecological Montreal Party" (on page 27). While Alfredo Bonanno argues that without self-management of struggles and revolutionary movements, the idea of workers' self-management of production is not just incomplete, but worthless where genuine liberation is concerned (see page 35).

And, finally, the features of this issue are rounded off with a unique interview with Ted Kaczynski, showing the human side of a man often portrayed in the mainstream media as a monster. (While these same media portray the monsters who torture, maim, kill and enslave on a vast scale—whether presidents, congressmen, generals or CEOs—as pillars of the national and international community.) Whether or not one agrees with Kaczynski's thoughts or acts, it is obvious that the man is serious about his critique and willing to take responsibility for it, even if it means standing alone against the onrush of modern technological society. We stand in his support as a political prisoner who was refused the opportunity to speak directly in his own defense by an (in)justice system afraid of the many hints of mass public sympathy for the "Unabomber" simmering just below the surface of our media-portrayed normality.

CONSPIRACY IS UNNECESSARY

TED KACZYNSKI

UNAPACK POB 120494 BOSTON MA 02112

MAN
PROJECT
The
LIFESTYLE
DON'T
BE
POW.
M.I.A.

Openers

Moving to California?

This issue has been edited and produced in Alameda, California, where I've temporarily relocated since the end of the summer. There's a possibility *Anarchy* magazine may make a more permanent move, possibly to Berkeley in the next year. (Any Bay Area anarchists interested in the possibilities of a relocation of this magazine are invited to get in touch.) For now all contact information remains current, though please keep in mind that the move to California (and the resulting chaos) has resulted in longer mail response times. Until *Anarchy* #49 appears in early April, it may be faster to reach me at this temporary editorial address:

Jason McQuinn
2532 Santa Clara Ave., PMB 189
Alameda, CA 94501

In other magazine news, it should be noted that, apparently following in the footsteps of another recent *Anarchy* editor, Paul Z. Simons has disappeared without leaving a forwarding address. This explains the absence of the conclusion to his account of the Paris Commune in this issue.

Please don't forget that the C.A.L. Press/Paleo Editions book publishing project has just come out with the long-awaited second, expanded edition of John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal*. *Anarchy* readers can get their copies right now by sending checks for \$14.95 + \$2.05 shipping & handling (for a total of \$17.00) to C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446. And while we're at it, don't forget that the last C.A.L. Press book, Bob Black's hilarious send-up of Murray Bookchin, *Anarchy after Leftism*, is still available for \$7.95 + \$2.05 s&h. More books are in the works, so there may be another title announced in the next *Anarchy*.

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Regular readers will recall that C.A.L. Press losses from the bankruptcy of our largest distributor a couple years ago totalled \$13,000. With the last three issues of *Anarchy* we've managed to make a small amount of headway against this deficit, which now stands at about \$11,000. We continue to appeal for extra support from anyone who believes that *Anarchy* magazine fulfills an important, unique role within the anarchist milieu. Our fund-raising goal is to completely make up our losses within the next 16 months. And we want to give donors something in return for their support.

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Many thanks to all who have helped out in the past, and to everyone who helps us continue publishing into the future.

— Jason McQuinn, Editor

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Anarchy after Leftism

Bob Black's newest book fresh off the press. An intelligent, witty & compelling demolition job on both Murray Bookchin's atrocious *Social Anarchism vs. Lifestyle Anarchism* and his overall philosophical and radical pretensions. Highly recommended. (C.A.L. Press, 1997) 176pp. \$7.95 paper.

Future Primitive & Other Essays

John Zerzan's latest book, collecting recent essays from *Anarchy* & *Demolition Derby*, including "Future Primitive," "The Mass Psychology of Misery," "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism" and "Tonality and the Totality," along with his "Nihilist's Dictionary." (C.A.L. Press & Autonomedia, 1994) 185pp. \$6.95 paper.

Revolution of Everyday Life

Raoul Vaneigem's still-explosive masterpiece on radical subjectivity in a world of things and their prices. This book has been serialized in *Anarchy*, but it's well worth reading & re-reading. One of the two major works of the Situationist International, this text played a role in the gestation of the general strike of May, 1968 in France. (Left Bank & Rebel Press, 1967, 1994) 279pp. \$15.95 paper.

Against His-Story, Against Leviathan

Fredy Perlman's most important work presents his account of the world history of civilizations from their origins as they devoured primitive peoples and other civilizations on their way to the dead-end we know too well in the present day. A poetic and deeply subversive reversal of perspective on history. (Black & Red, 1983) 320pp. \$9.95 paper.

Letters of Insurgents

Bob Black's newest book fresh off the press. An intelligent, witty & compelling demolition job on both Murray Bookchin's atrocious *Social Anarchism vs. Lifestyle Anarchism* and his overall philosophical and radical pretensions. Highly recommended. (C.A.L. Press, 1997) 176pp. \$7.95 paper.

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism

Fredy Perlman's penetrating critique of nationalism left and right. This is an essential essay for understanding nationalism without illusions. (Black & Red, 1985) 58pp. \$2.75 paper.

History of the Makhnovist Movement

Peter Arshinov's inspiring firsthand account of the most important anarchist movement of the Russian Revolution, centered on the anarchist partisans organized by Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine, as they fought for their lives under attack from the Ukrainian nationalists, the Bolshevik counter-revolution and the Czarist White armies from 1918 until their defeat in 1921. This is an amazing and inspiring story. (Black & Red, 1987) 284pp. \$9.95 paper.

Society of the Spectacle

Guy Debord's highly important masterpiece updating Marx's theory of commodity fetishism for an electronically-mediated world. "Everything which was once lived has moved into its representation." One of the two central works of the Situationist International. (Black & Red, 1967, 1983) unpaged \$6.95 paper.

Situationist International Anthology

Ken Knabb's definitive translation and collection of the most important articles from the S.I.'s French journal, including those by Asger Jorn, Ivan Chtcheglov, Guy Debord, Raoul Vaneigem, Attila Kotányi, René Viénet & others. (Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981) 406pp. \$14.95 paper.

Journey through Utopia

Mari Louise Berner's thorough and perceptive study of the most important utopian writings since Plato's *Republic*. (Freedom Press, 1950) 339pp. \$9.95 paper.

Against Civilization

A new anthology of "Readings and Reflections" put together by John Zerzan, including Hesiod on through to the "primitivists" of today, by way of Rousseau, William Morris, and Fourier, among others—51 selections in all. (Uncivilized Books, 1999) \$9.95 paper.

Begin at Start

Si Negrin's simple, straightforward & unpretentious primer for integrating the personal and the political, written from a 1960s-70s perspective. (Times Change Press, 1972) 173pp. \$5.95 paper.

Passionate and Dangerous: Conversations with Midwestern Anti-authoritarians & Anarchists

Well, maybe not all that "dangerous," but this new survey of the midwestern anarchist scene will give you a lot better idea of who is active and what's going on out there! (1999) 70pp. \$4.00 magazine format.

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#48

The Sad Truth

Anti-Panhandler Repression in Gay Villages

Michael William

Montreal's Gay Village consists primarily of a 10-block strip along Sainte-Catherine. Most of the village spots I rarely go to. But I do frequent couple dance places I like, or if the weather is warm, I sit on benches on Sainte-Catherine or in a small park.

One night I was coming back through the strip following a long walk. I stopped outside the Presse Cafe, where two benches stand adjacent on the sidewalk. The side of the cafe facing the street was open, its windows removed, and several men were sitting with their legs dangling over the sidewalk. Other seemingly gay men were sitting on one of the benches, and several stood on the sidewalk.

A woman of about eighteen, sitting on the other bench, spare changed me and others as they walked by. A man in his 40s who was standing on the sidewalk told the woman in an authoritative voice to stop spare changing there.

"Who are you?" the woman asked.

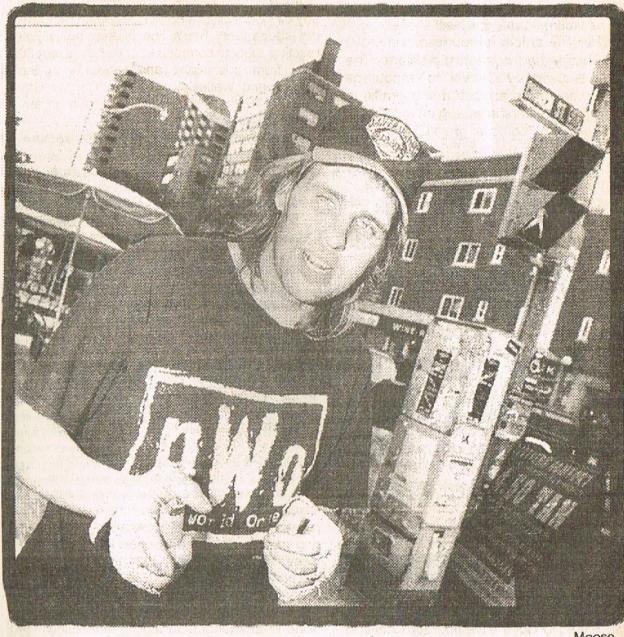
"The owner," the man said.

The woman hesitated several seconds, moved a short distance down the street, sat down against a fence and continued to panhandle.

The exchange was over within seconds. However, I subsequently attempted to reach the owner to ask him questions about the incident. Despite several calls I was unable to contact him (he runs four businesses, I later learned). When I did finally reach him and set up a meeting, he ultimately canceled it. As my deadline loomed, he remained too busy. He had, though, outlined his basic position: "No solicitation in or in front of the cafe."

The power trip above occurs in the context of a queer milieu turned stiffly mainstream—when it is not openly conservative. Articulating this neo-conservatism are ideologies such as Bruce Bauer, author of *A Place at the Table: The Gay Individual in American Society*. As the title indicates, the emphasis here is on mainstream acceptance. Featured by spokespeople of this ilk are issues such as gay marriage and gays in the military. On a street level, this neo-conservatism translates into anti-panhandler sentiment in North American gay villages.

A new player in the panhandler debate on a local level is the Village Merchants and Professionals Association. The Association's founding meeting was held in a Village restaurant on August 16, 1999. An article on



Moose.

the meeting published in *Les Faubourgs*, a neighbourhood journal, said the Association would be putting on a number of events in the Village. Association members also "intended to act to 'clean up' Sainte-Catherine street, the piece ominously reported. I called *Les Faubourgs* to try to get an account of what was said about panhandlers at the meeting. The person I talked to was a member of the organization who had attended the meeting but refused to tell me what was said. Instead he referred me to the Association spokesperson, Rofanne Normandin. I interviewed Normandin and Sylvain Toussaint (the Association's President) at an early September fund-raiser put on in the Village by the new organization. Speaking in a low, insistent voice, Toussaint set the tone by stating that panhandlers are "mal vu" ("looked upon in a poor light") in the Village.

The following month another piece was published, written this time by RG journalist Roger-Luc Chayer under the title "Police More and More Handcuffed." Citing "innumerable" punks, prostitution, drug use, squeegees and homeless people, Chayer complained that a "major infestation" was taking place. He then emits a cry of anguish: "What the devil is the police doing with respect to this proliferation of socio-criminal

problems?" In the article Chayer recounts an 11-hour stint he did accompanying cops in their patrol car. The cops duly complain that prisons are revolving doors and people are let out because there isn't enough space. Taxpayers' money is used to paint defendants as victims, the cops beef.

Another RG article denounces numerous tags someone had done in the Village. The incident is used by Chayer to encourage people to snitch on anyone doing graffiti in the Village: "Any person seeing an individual, man or woman, doing a graffiti [in the Village] is asked to communicate immediately with 911."

Another collaboration with the police is recounted by Michael Hendricks in his column in the now-defunct tabloid *Village*. The cops had asked the anti-violence committee Hendricks was a member of to lend assistance following a heated public debate concerning arrests of gays in a cruising area. Hendricks's organization agreed to produce a flyer outlining the current laws on nudity and sexual activity. In the incident Hendricks describes, three gays and two lesbians troop off to gay and nudist beaches to hand out flyers—to mixed reaction from those leafleted. The cops were "delighted" with the collaboration, Hendricks wrote. In the piece he not surprisingly takes a jab at "the clique of 1970s-style liberationists who defend our 'right' to do anything, anywhere."

During the 1998 municipal elections, three gays and a lesbian ran for the New Montreal Party. The party is headed by former Montreal Chief of Police Jacques Duchesneau, best known for having instituted community policing in Montreal. Douglas Buckley-Courteau, one of the candidates, had stood in the previous election for the Democratic Coalition (centre-left). Another party-switcher was Louise Roy, former president of the Montreal Citizens Movement (another centre-left party). A third candidate was Serge Lareault, former editor of *L'Intraire*, a paper sold by street people. In an interview in RG, Lareault criticized the ruling Vision Montreal Party for cuts to the police force, saying New Montreal intends to hire 500 more cops. Community policing is hailed as a success for gays, and New Montreal is praised for having more gays and lesbians (he claims). In an interview Duchesneau has said he wants to seal off abandoned buildings in the Village, in part to keep out the homeless.

The four queer New Montreal candidates received the endorsement of a local gay and lesbian umbrella group.

Toronto

In Ontario (which adjoins and is to the west of Quebec), the Conservative Party was recently re-elected on a tax cut and law and order programme. In early September 1999, Attorney-General Jim Flaherty was quoted as saying

Ontarians should not have to put up with "interference with people on the sidewalk" or what he termed "aggressive, intimidating behavior." Jailing offenders was not ruled out, Flaherty said.

An important player in the Toronto Village is gay city Councillor Kyle Rae. Concerning curbing squeegees, Rae's line is that he is just reacting to local complaints: "I've had about 30 calls from businesses and residents in the Church and Wellesley area [the Toronto Gay Village]. That's a high number of calls on any particular issue."

Shortly before the '99 Toronto Pride celebrations, Rae became the object of a denunciatory poster campaign. A series of nine posters took Rae to task on issues such as the closing of a downtown hostel for the homeless in his riding and restricted access for street people to a community centre. "Kyle Rae led a city campaign against street kids' efforts to support themselves through squeegeeing," one poster charged, while another read, "Kyle Rae supported a police campaign to close back rooms at gay bars along Church St. Thanks for nothing, Kyle."

The posters were a "rather cowardly exercise," Rae predictably responded, confirming, however, that he is against public sex. He has also asked people not to go nude at the annual Pride March.

Some gay village panhandlers of course are queer themselves. In an interview in the Toronto biweekly *Xtra*, Moose, a bi, transsexual panhandler excommunicated the "childish recreational war against squeegees" occurring in Toronto. His squeegee was taken away and broken by the cops, he recounted, and he was threatened with arrest if he is seen squeegeeing. He now avoids certain areas he used to frequent. "Cops have gone to any lengths to stop panhandling and squeegeeing in Toronto," he says.

The Toronto Village has also had to deal with gay-nazis! Shortly before the '99 Pride events, several flags were hung out along a seventh-floor Village balcony. They included a Canadian flag, a rainbow one with a white swastika on it, and a flag with an iron cross. A large sign denounced the annual Dyke March as "hypocritical to gay pride."

Hitler, of course, put gays into concentration camps. But present-day gay nazis can lay claim to a lineage—the original Storm Troopers, the SA. Numerous SA higher-ups were gay, including the leader, Ernst Roehm, who was executed soon after Hitler took power. The need for a street-brawling force had come to an end and Hitler intended to shunt aside the SA in favour of the more elite, ideologically pure (and loyal) SS.

Michael Kühnen is an example of a modern-day gay nazi who uses the SA as a model. Kühnen became perhaps the most influential German neo-Nazi organizer until his death from AIDS. He sponsored and hand-picked the leader of National

The Sad Truth

Alternative, the first East German neo-Nazi organization to emerge as the Berlin Wall fell. He would later author a manifesto entitled "National Socialism and homosexuality" in which he said that anti-gay sentiment among neo-nazis was caused by the influence of "Jewish-Christian petit-bourgeois morals." A faction of disillusioned former Kühnen disciples eventually emerged, denouncing gays as "traitors to the People."

But nazis remain marginal in the queer milieu. It is the mainstream that is the bigger problem. Surely needed is an explosion of radical queer voices.



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Flyer for the Village Association of Merchants and Professionals.

Alternative Media Review

Anarchist press review

Compiled by J. McQuinn, L. Jarach & Rob los Ricos

Anarchy is once again exchanging with all other anarchist and genuinely radical (anti-state, anti-capitalist) periodicals. And we will continue to try to review all such periodicals received in future issues. All reviews in this issue are by Jason McQuinn, except those marked [LJ] for Lawrence Jarach or [RIR] for Rob los Ricos.

Publishers please note: To ensure that your publications are reviewed in future issues, send all zines and magazines to our current reviewer address: C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MD 20525-1446, USA.

ACTIVE TRANSFORMATION

A Direct Action

Anarchist Newsletter

Vol.2, #5 Sept.-Oct. '99 (POB 11508, Detroit, MI 48211; or POBB 6746, Lansing, MI 48826; e-mail: activetrans@hotmail.com) is a 20-page tabloid featuring activist news from around the world. In this issue: updates on imprisoned Krasnador (Russia) anarchists, United Freedom Front prisoners, Mumia Abu-Jamal's case, and Shell in Nigeria, along with a centerfold section titled "Youth Power: Fight for the Future." Subscriptions are \$6/6 issues. [JM]

THE DEFENESTRATOR
throwing power out the window
#7/Aug. '98 & #8/Nov. '98 (POB 30922, Philadelphia, PA 19104) is an 8-page tabloid newspaper featuring news about anarchist activities, with a focus on—but not limited to—Philadelphia. Free! [RIR]

DISCUSSION BULLETIN
#93/Jan.-Feb. & #94/Mar.-April '99 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI 49501) is a 32-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu. Each issue usually includes several ongoing debates over the meanings of communism, Marxism, unionism, democracy and revolution, with some occasionally interesting and enlightening comments. The March-April issue includes John Bokken's (mild) criticisms of Noam Chomsky, and a debate over whether the ruling class "conspires" or "does what comes naturally." Wide open to participation from readers. Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues). [JM]

ANNARKIA
Experimental issue zero/undated (c/o Kacper Jarecki, 4114 9th Ave., #4F, Brooklyn, NY 11232) is a two-page "zine," which has a chaotic lay-out to fit its folded format. Has a brief rant "Anarchy is Now," a few reviews of other teen-zines and not much else. Free! [RIR]

THE BLACK-CLAD MESSENGER
Actualizing Industrial Collapse
#2/#3/undated (POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97401) is an energetic, promising new 8 to 16-page zine that "wants to hasten the disappearance of this whole striking order." No truck with liberalism or leftism here. The third issue has an impressive overview of "What's Happening in Kosovo? An Anarchist's Perspective," a reprinting of the "Preface to the Second Edition of *Elements of Refusal*" by John Zerzan, and a centerfold insert consisting of posters for the Free Skool in Eugene and against war. Send a contribution for a copy. [JM]

COM-plete CON-tROL
#3/undated (POB 5021, Richmond, VA 23220) is an unpaginated little

personal/political zine featuring accounts of squatting, road trips, recent demos attended, a revolutionary tourist trip to Chiapas, and an interview with George Jackson Brigade member Ed Mead (released from 18 years of prison in 1993) on "Armed Struggles in America." This is a simple, amusing, entertaining zine. Sample copies are 55¢ each or 2 for \$1. [JM]



FIFTH ESTATE
#153/Summer '99 (4632 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201) is the long-running, 28-page anti-civilization, anarcho-primitivist tabloid, often publishing some of the more intelligent writing in the radical milieu. Unfortunately, though, the Summer '99 issue includes one of the more bizarre cover stories I've ever seen in any established anarchist periodical, Montezuma's "The State: A Space Alien Experiment Gone Wrong?" Also included is some more conventional coverage of protests against the continuing attempts to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal, John Zerzan on "Anarchy in Eugene," and Noam Chomsky on "Kosovo: The Empire at War." Single copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$8/4 issues. [JM]

FREEDOM
Anarchist Fortnightly
Vol.60, #5/Mar. '99 thru #13/June '99 (84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England) is a long-

running 8-page tabloid of anarchist news and comment covering international, as well as British, social struggles. The June 26th issue includes a rough analysis of the British anarchist movement titled "Bedsit anarchists and provincial anarchism," as well as an interesting account of "The Libertarian Ideal in Bolivia: The situation in El Chape" (in which coca-growing peasants have had to organize for military self-defense against Bolivian government attempts to monopolize the drug trade. North American subscriptions are \$22/year (24 issues).

GREEN ANARCHIST

For the destruction of Civilization #54-5 (double issue)/Spring '99 (BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an always interesting 28-page eco-anarchist, anti-civilization tabloid with a big emphasis on direct actions, but unfortunately small type. The Spring issue has a GAndALF court case update by co-defendant Paul Rogers titled "Breaking the Teeth of Leviathan" (for those who haven't yet heard, the GAndALF defendants were all released after a £10 million prosecution!), a reprint from John Zerzan's "Nihilist's Dictionary" column, Glenn Parton's call for "Humans-in-the-Wilderness," a reprint of John Moore's less than convincing essay on "Bewilderness," along with his more coherent call to "Maximalist Anarchism, Anarchist Maximalism." Each issue also includes a "Diary of Ecodefense," a "Diary of Animal Liberation," and a "Diary of Community Resistance" (for those patient enough to sort through hundreds of headlines), as well as reviews, commentary and much more. This zine is well worth the price at £5/5 issues.

HARBINGER

Leaving the 20th Century #2/undated (Crimethinc, 2595 Rangewood Dr., Atlanta, GA 30345) is an important new 12-page tabloid which takes the idea of a "revolution of everyday life" more seriously than most. An interesting mix of provocation, critique, radical evangelism & anti-evangelism, and calls to utopian action. This issue includes an amusing rant aimed at anarcho-leftists titled "Face it, your politics are boring as fuck" by Nadia C., an analysis of spectacular culture titled "We Look for Life in the Image of Life," and a lengthy examination of "What's so Bad about Capitalism?" Here's a sample quote from the latter: "Don't be paralyzed by the seeming vastness of the forces arrayed against us, or be tricked into serving other forces against them. Find ways to escape...in your own life, and take others with you when you can..." Send for a copy today. The price is right. It's free for the asking, though it might be nice to include a donation. [JM]

THE LEVELLER

For Class War Anarchism Vol.3, #2/Autumn 1999 (POB 712191, Los Angeles, CA 90071) is a 40-page photocopied zine advocating "the methods of Revolutionary Syndicalism to win the class war against the corruption of the rich and powerful." Included in this issue are international news updates on the brewing U.S. war against the people of Colombia in the name of the "War on Drugs," recent labor news shorts from around the world, and a few announcements of the dissolution of anarchist groups (incongruously including a reprint of the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade's wicked parody of the Love & Rage group's break-up announcement). There's also a commentary on "Political Correctness," a confession of a "Commie Dupe," and a jumbled list of "What Anarchism Is Not." Sample copies are \$3; subscriptions are \$12/4 issues.



SLINGSHOT

Issue #66/Autumn '99 (3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705, web: http://www.tao.ca/~slingshot; e-mail: slingshot@tao.ca) is a long-running, 12-page tabloid quarterly now sponsored by the Long Haul Infoshop and focussing on anarchist action in the East Bay area. This issue includes a call to shut down Seattle during the November WTO (World Trade Organization) summit, updated information on the Lori Berenson arrest in Peru (a United States citizen charged with aiding Tupac Amaru, the MRTA), an argument for more "Radical Porn: Combining the Absurd with the Vulgar," S.F. Bay Area Critical Mass (a militantly pro-bike, anti-auto activist group) coverage, and coverage on the Jubilee 2000 international debt forgiveness campaign, along with much more. Subscriptions are still cheap at \$1/issue (\$2/issue by First Class mail).

A small selection of anarchist/alternative Web sites

Compiled by Alex Trotter

The Daily Bleed (sinners and saints galore)
www.eskimo.com/~recall/bleed/calmost.htm

Emperor Norton
www.notfrisco.com/nortoniana

Victor Serge
users.skynet.be/johneden

Wilhelm Reich
www.orgone.org

Society for Human Sexuality
www.sexuality.org

Surrealist writers
www.creative.net/~alang/lit/surreal/writers.shtml

Cabaret Voltaire
www.mital-u.ch/Dada/cabvolte.html

New Social & Cultural Movements
www.lancs.ac.uk/users/csec/shiftingground/

Communitas (news around the world)
www.ecn.org/communitas/

The Post-Technology Project
www.bestweb.net/~jfiliss/

Bindlestiff Family Circus
(erotic fire shows, sword swallowers, bug eaters, etc.)
www.atomicage.com/bindle

Witches, wiccans and pagans
www.witchvox.com

Cyberpunks home page
ftp://ftp.csua.berkeley.edu/pub/cyberpunks/Home.html

List of anonymous remailers
www.cs.berkeley.edu/~raph/remailer-list.html

Alternative Media Review

UTOPIAN ANARCHIST PARTY
#82/undated (POB 1224, Silver Spring, MD 20908; www.overthrow.com; e-mail: nrkybill@erols.com) is a provocative 10-page newsletter targeted primarily at high-school age youth, promoting angry anti-cop, anti-school, anti-authority actions, and celebrating anti-cop violence just about wherever it comes from. This issue, the first since the Columbine school shootings last Spring, features inflammatory coverage of the Eugene June 18th Reclaim The Streets protest, a "Malignant Chemist" how-to column on improvised shotguns, a reprint of an essay encouraging cops to desert their jobs (titled "What Do You Think You're Doing Officer?") by Rob Thaxton. Many people with a visceral hatred of cops will enjoy this zine, while others may be appalled at the fairly indiscriminate cheerleading for anti-cop violence. Subscriptions are free.

The Congress of Clowns

Reviewed by Alex Trotter

The Congress of Clowns and Other Russian Circus Acts by Joel Schechter (Kropotkin Club of San Francisco, 1998) 96pp., \$10.00 paper.

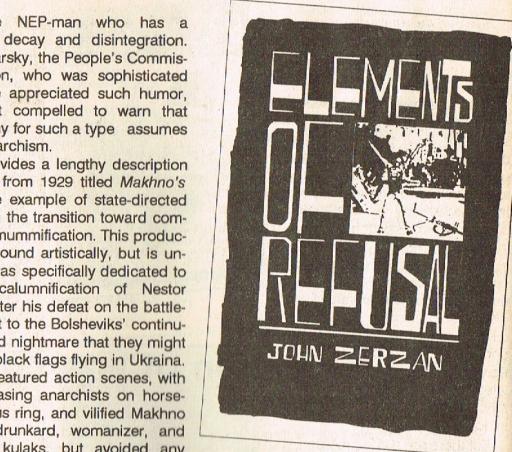
Although not a comprehensive history, this brief anecdotal account, handsomely produced, of Russian circus acts over the last century introduces several important figures and describes some of their pantomimes and other acts, against the backdrop of the machinations of Soviet and post-Soviet politicians, who themselves appear as clowns. Many of the anecdotes are drawn from the author's several visits to Russia. The book is not strictly about the circus, and also deals with political theater and literature of the absurd. Writers, playwrights, poets, and other artists such as Bulgakov, Brodsky, Meyerhold, Stanislavsky, Mayakovsky, Komar & Melamid, and many others make their appearances in Schechter's circus.

Throughout most of the history of the USSR, circus performers, like other artists, had to be inventive in adapting to, and circumventing wherever possible, the censorious demands of the regime. This often necessitated the use of Aesopian language, to which the circus was well suited. The latitude for political satire was especially restricted under Stalin, and again under Brezhnev. The need for this kind of subterfuge ended with the glasnost era, but with the arrival of free market capitalism, everyday life in Russia has continued to be painfully absurd and the political life of the country more of a circus than ever. Examples cited are a drunken Boris Yeltsin taking the baton away from an orchestra conductor to conduct the musicians himself, and Vladimir Zhirinovsky threatening to sue a satirist who impersonated him.

At several points Schechter mentions that Russian circus directors treat their animals well, training them in a gentle manner, but then he jokes (?) that this would still not live up to today's standards of animal liberation in Western society. The question of circus animals' welfare arose during a food shortage in 1991, when the animals of the Moscow Circus were close to starvation. The circus director Yuri Nikulin vowed to lead a demonstration in Red Square, complete with animals in cages, if the animals were not provided with rations. If police came to confront the demonstrators, the cages would be opened so the animals could fight the police. Gorbachev agreed to give the animals enough food.

Schechter says that, for all the travails the Russian circus has had to endure, the state of mainstream circus in the United States leaves much to be desired. The old vaudeville tradition is dead, and mainstream acts like Ringling Brothers are primarily entertainers of children, avoiding controversial subjects like sex and politics.

The Congress of Clowns is a quick and pleasurable read, informed by the spirit of Groucho Marx and Charlie Chaplin as well as Bakhtin's Rabelaisian carnivalesque, and spiced with wry chuckles, even if some of the humor centering around the cold war already seems dated and therefore flat. May this book generate more interest in Russian clowns and political satire in general.



"Everyone can feel the nothingness, the void, just beneath the surface of everyday routines and securities." -from the Preface

Elements of Refusal is the first collection of John Zerzan's writings—and this Second Edition of the collection is long overdue. No less than as they first appeared, these essays are provocative and important.

Present day "reality," as constituted by those with vested interests in maintaining this domination, is touted as the "best" possible reality. Accordingly, history is shaped like a monstrous land-fill to legitimize this hoax.

Daily life, with its intensifying alienations and psychopathology becomes more spectacular and bizarre. *All is not well in Utopia*. We grow more dependent on glitter and diversion to fill the void where all that is human is gutted. Life is reduced to a game. *But there is nowhere to play*. Every technological innovation promising to bring us closer together drives us further apart; every revolution promises to liberate us from want, but leaves us more in need.

Elements of Refusal spells it all out. Here it is axiomatic that art, language, time, industrialism, number, technology, work and other aspects of our social lives—all hailed as the liberators of humanity—are, in fact, the co-conspirators of domestication and domination.

Columbia Alternative Library
C.A.L. Press/Paleo Editions
 POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205
 \$14.95 + \$2.05 p&h = \$17.00 total

Film and the Anarchist Imagination

Reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

Film and the Anarchist Imagination by Richard Porton (Verso, 180 Varick St., New York, NY, 10014-4606, 1999) 314pp., \$20.00 paper.

I watch films from a couple of different perspectives. First, I watch as a movie spectator; does the story make sense, are the actors believable? Second, I watch as a person who knows a little film/theater theory; are there interesting/unusual things happening cinematically, are the shots/tableaux set up well? Third, I watch as an antiauthoritarian; does the story reinforce hierarchical social relations, capitalist morality, American supremacy, or does it promote self-activity, mutual aid, and other values consistent with an anarchic vision? In short, is the film entertaining, is it esthetically pleasing, and is it consonant with my values? I ordered Porton's book merely because I liked the title: both *Film and Anarchist* are in it. Finally, I thought, a study of anarchist cinema, and a serious one at that.

But there are some problems with it on the same level. Verso is a leftist publishing house, but since Porton situates anarchism on the left, he doesn't take the usual hostile stance of leftists towards anarchists. Porton is on the editorial board of *Cineaste*, a magazine of film theory and criticism, and he teaches cinema studies (not film studies, but cinema studies). As a serious high-brow art-cinema critic, he really likes the highly intellectual *Cahiers du cinema* folks from France, which is why he spends so much time on an analysis of the not-very-anarchist *Tout va bien* by the Maoist Godard, even though Godard wasn't then, isn't now, and won't ever be an anarchist.

Not many American films are anarchic except in a screwball sort of way (like movies starring the Marx Brothers), but Porton privileges European films as a matter of course. No mention is made of the notorious flop *Heaven's Gate*, which had the word "anarchist" thrown around all over the place, and had a climax of armed self-defense, which is fully consistent with anarchist politics. *Behold a Pale Horse*, admittedly a second-rate film, is given short shrift even though it's loosely based on the exploits of the famous Catalan anarchist activist/propagandist/saboteur/guerrilla Sabate, while some French musical, *À nous la liberté*, without any portrayal of anarchists and without an anarchist theme gets a bunch of pages of laudatory analysis.

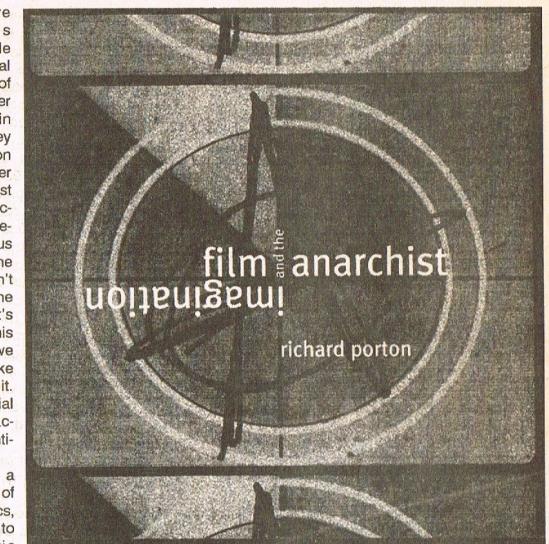
Another problem is that by privileging often obscure European films, Porton makes it difficult for interested anarchist film-lovers to track them down in local video stores. The

ones that are more famous might be available at a better rental outlet, but most of the titles are either not available in the US or they aren't available on video at all. Porton is in line with most high-brow intellectuals in this respect; those of us who aren't on the same level can't get access to the knowledge that's in the field of his expertise, so we just have to take his word for it. Such a differential in power is unacceptable to anti-authoritarians.

Porton has a decent grasp of anarchist politics, but his devotion to cinema—artistic and sophisticated

cinema—is more powerful. He lauds questionable (not very anarchist) works while ignoring others that are either specifically about, or written by, anarchists. The comedy *S***Y'S* (directed by Irwin Kershner, who also directed *The Empire Strikes Back*) is ignored, even though half the film is about a trio of French anarchists (for a more detailed review of *S***Y'S* see *Black Badger* #3 available for \$2.00 from POB 508, Berkeley, CA 94701). And how can he have overlooked one of the finest American films of the '50s, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, based on the novel written by noted anarchist B. Traven? Other film adaptations of Traven's novels have appeared in Mexico, and are only rarely shown in the United States, but almost everyone knows the famous lines from *Treasure*: "Badges? Badges?...We ain't got to show you no stinkin' badges!"

There is one chapter that stands out in terms of dealing with current anarchist theory; it deals with anarcho-syndicalism and the revolt against work. Whilst not taking too seriously the anti-work discourse (he is, after all, a leftist), Porton nevertheless acknowledges that it is part of anarchist theory. He does have a patronizing dismissal of "primitivism": "...the term 'primitive' [has] been appropriated—and pushed to a frequently



absurd limit—by self-styled 'future primitives' such as John Zerzan, an anti-work advocate whose *contempt* for modernity encompasses such disparate targets as agriculture, tonality, postmodernist theory, and even speech" (my italics). In fact, Zerzan has constantly attempted to show the interconnectedness of these "disparate" features of modernity in his critiques.

Another quibble I have is that he incorrectly quotes Bob Black's essay "Anarchism and Other Impediments to Anarchy": "...Black claims that even anarchists have become prey to ideological rigidity and argues that 'we need anarchists unencumbered by anarchy' [sic!]." Of course Bob said "we need anarchists unencumbered by anarchism." There's a world of difference between Porton's incorrect quote and the actual quote from Bob's essay; I'm willing to give Porton the benefit of the doubt on this mistake since it appears in a footnote, but I'm not certain that he understands the difference.

With all that said, it's worth checking out this book if you like movies and are interested in seeing where anarchist theory and cinematic entertainment and education intersect.

All-American Anarchist

Reviewed by Julie Herrada

All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement, Carlotta R. Anderson (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1998) 324pp., \$34.95 hardcover.

As a native Detroit, I was raised with a belief in the strength of the labor movement, the power of the unions, and the importance of the Almighty Henry Ford to the economic life of Detroit.

For many labor radicals, the era of the Model T is when the industrial history of Detroit began. However, Anderson's book about pre-Ford Detroit breathes life into a generation of radicals whose names today are obscure. Even when I came to work as Assistant Curator at the University of Michigan's Labadie Collection, the foremost collection of anarchist materials in North America, I was not aware of the significance of the people whose names filled its shelves. I am grateful to Anderson for sharing the history, because Henry Ford doesn't deserve so much recognition.

Jo Labadie (1850-1933) began life among the remnants of the Pottawatomi tribes in Paw Paw, a small southwestern Michigan outpost, with his father, Anthony Cleophas Labadie, of Ojibway and French ancestry, and a French-Canadian mother, Euphrosyne Angelique Labadie. (His parents were distant cousins). Labadie's godmother was Ojibway.

The story Anderson (Labadie's granddaughter) tells of her French-Indian pioneer ancestors, living in the wilderness, is one we don't often hear. The fragments she has painstakingly pieced together to tell this story had been saved by Labadie, a notorious packrat, and carefully preserved by his devoted wife and companion, Sophie, and passed down to the author by her uncle, Laurance Labadie, Jo's son, also an anarchist, who died in 1975.

The Labadie family moved from Paw Paw to East Sandwich, Ontario, a small settlement on the Detroit River, when Jo was a boy. Reading of the Labadie family's friendships with the Indians of Walpole Island—Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi—brought to mind Fredy Perlman's *The Strait*, with its dreamy and captivating imagery of life along the banks of the Detroit River, and eventual demise of the indigenous tribes at the hands of the "bluecoat" invaders. Although Anderson's story is more prosaic and less violent, its telling evokes a similar picture of this region's history.

The Labadies, the first non-Indian settlers on that land, eventually lost their home to land speculator and whiskey baron, Hiram Walker, who built the distillery which is still in existence today. The ousting of the Labadie family resulted in their move back to south-

western Michigan, among the Pottawatomi, again living a pioneer existence.

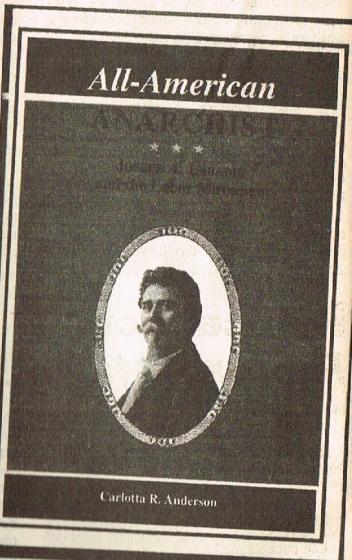
This is the life Labadie would always long for, and later help form his individualist anarchist ideals. Simple tribal life, with its emphasis on communal responsibility and economic equality, made a lasting impression on him. The Labadie family's long friendship with the Walpole Island Indians may have even saved their lives during a violent uprising, when the native people spared the lives and homes of those who had befriended them.

As Michigan changed rapidly from pioneer to industrial society, young Jo Labadie, who was trilingual (English, French and Pottawatomi), but with no formal education, learned the printing trade and went on the road as a "tramp printer," in the Northeast. He joined printer's unions in each city where he worked, before settling in Detroit in 1872. This youthful work and wandering formed an indelible mark on this "backwoods boy's" sense of justice, illustrating clearly to him the disparities between the classes. His wandering lifestyle offered valuable lessons in class struggle and social justice.

Like most anarchists, there were contradictions between Labadie's personal and political lives. He was an atheist legally married to a pious Catholic, his first cousin, Sophie Archambeau. However, this unlikely union seemed to pose no threat to his principles. Both Jo and Sophie remained true to their ideals, respectful of the other's and totally devoted to each other. Sophie, in fact, helped Jo by organizing and preserving the vast array of materials which would in 1912 become the birth of the Labadie Collection.

Although Labadie's printing skills offered mainly itinerant work and a sporadic paycheck, it allowed him to promote his political ideology. He rallied around many causes of the day, including socialism, Greenbackism, the single-tax, and unionism, finding it "difficult to resist any project organized to cure society's ills."

He, along with fellow printer Judson Grenell, published a number of socialist newspapers and pamphlets, and early on was very active in the Socialist Labor Party. His indefatigable drive led to political and journalistic activity which would keep Labadie busy all his life, first as an ardent socialist, working to gain "more now" for all workers, then by 1883, as an anarchist, "emerging as



a proponent of extreme individual freedom in a stateless society."

Anderson rightly questions some of Labadie's inconsistencies, which ranged from reformist to revolutionary, pointing out curious un-anarchistic remarks and actions to reveal a paradox common among anarchists in capitalist society. "Non of us are really anarchists, only believers in anarchism" he explained. Anderson carefully maps for the reader Labadie's political development, tracking his socialist tendencies and support of trade unionism to his eventual abhorrence of party politics and support of the natural laws of individualist anarchism.

Anderson traces the historic events of the day, from the post-civil war Panic of 1873, which lasted six years, to the anti-union fervor of the mid-1880s, culminating in the 1886 Haymarket tragedy, and Labadie's reaction to these tumultuous times. After meeting Johann Most, following an 1883 Detroit speech by the German-born firebrand, Labadie defended the radical anarchist with uncharacteristically fierce rhetoric, signaling a turn in his own political thought.

After the execution of the four anarchists convicted of the Haymarket bombing, Labadie went head-to-head over the issues

with those whom he previously thought were his closest allies. Even though the Haymarket martyrs hadn't committed the crime for which they died, Labadie's unflinching support of free speech led him to promote even bombing if it meant protecting the rights of workers to organize and speak freely.

His insistence on the right of individual expression frequently gained him public attention. Anderson describes an incident in 1908, when Labadie began pasting anarchist stickers on his correspondence before mailing. They were not the broadly interpreted and simplified circle A, but often quotations from venerable authors such as George Bernard Shaw and Lao-Tze.

The Detroit postal inspector, J.J. Larmour declared these pieces "unmailable." Labadie protested and even the Detroit *Journal*, a

mainstream daily, rallied to his cause, accusing the postal authorities of censorship. The inspector relented, and Labadie continued using the stickers.

Labadie's convictions are well documented throughout his vast collection of correspondence. It is rare that such a comprehensive collection of a radical's life remains, let alone is so well-preserved. Anderson uses them skillfully to describe his individualist anarchism, comparing it with the communist anarchism of Most, Emma Goldman, and Lucy Parsons, all of whom Labadie knew, respected, and was influenced by.

Anderson's portrayal of the Labadies could not be more insightful. Because of her place in the family, she not only had most of their papers, but also had knowledge of Jo's disappointment in his children, and the

siblings' own feelings about each other. Her account of Labadie's reflections in his later years are particularly poignant.

In 1911, Labadie donated his voluminous papers, correspondence, self-published pamphlets and poetry to the University of Michigan due to its proximity to his home, as well as its conservative reputation. Jo believed "old moss-back Michigan" could use a little balance on their shelves.

Anderson's lively description of both large and small events in Labadie's life makes for an engaging account of Detroit's historic personalities and politics. This exciting volume has done a great service to the memory of an early anarchist and colorful character, Joseph Antoine Labadie, who has done more to inspire me than any of Detroit's official labor leaders.

Radical fiction: Resurrection 2027 & A.D.

Reviewed by Rob Los Ricos

Resurrection 2027 by J.G. Eccarius (III Publishing, POB 1581, Gualala, CA 95445, 1995) 192pp., \$7.00 paper.

A.D. by Saab Lofton (III Publishing, P.O. Box 1581, Gualala, CA 95445, 1995) 316pp., \$12.00 paper.

It's good to see dissident literature making a comeback. It's especially good to see someone with the imagination of J.G. Eccarius continue to grow as a writer, especially when that growth takes him further into the dissident viewpoint rather than the mainstream's. Both these novels have some common themes—set in the (already, by now) recent past and near-distant future(s), they trace the development of fascistic/religious societies from out of the current political scene. Saab Lofton's book takes a great leap forward into the 25th century while Eccarius' story ends in 2027. In Lofton's book, there has arisen an egalitarian/liberal technological utopia. Eccarius' book only hints at something better arising from the religiously inspired apocalypse he describes.

Resurrection 2027 tells of the growth of religious warfare in America which leads to nuclear combat, which leads to a nearly sterile planet. A weird cult of Mary-the-mother-of-god becomes supreme and reigns over a small group of survivors of the above-mentioned warfare (and a plague that nearly annihilates the human race). The book's strongest point is the author's faith in (some) people's trust of their own intellect, even in the face of horrendous propagandistic pressures to conform to a very rigid social order. The same can be said of Lofton's book, though, in this case, the rough start continues through the first 124 pages. To think that the Nation of Islam and the White Aryan Resistance will one day come to rule over much of present-day America and that people would willingly go along with it is a bit far-fetched. Not any more so than, say, the election of the Jerry Brown/Jesse Jackson third-party Presidential ticket, which produces the backlash that leads to the NOI/WAR ascendancy. Lofton tries to lend an air of credibility to the rest of the story by giving it a solid foundation in the more familiar-looking present, but he ends up painting a ridiculous, completely unconvincing scenario which makes it difficult to continue reading. For instances, missing from his Black-and-White portrait of America are Native Americans and Hispanics, with only a hint of Asians and not much mention of how the changes in America affected Canada and Mexico or the rest of the world, either. However, once he passes the story into the realm of science-fiction, with the protagonist Elijah Isiah/Fred Hampton Rush being sacrificed to science

for thoughtcrime against the Nation of Islam, the story gets much more interesting. Isiah/Rush wakes up some 380 years later, where everyone he meets still speaks in 20th-century colloquial English and are well-versed in 20th century pop culture and history. It's like no one is aware of all the changes that have taken place to make the modern world of the 25th century the wondrous, green place it is portrayed as being. You'd think these people would know more about the efforts to clean up the mess of the 20th century than they would about the slob that made it so fucked up in the first place. No, it would seem as if the past happened mostly in the years just prior to and after Fred Hampton Rush went to sleep and nothing that came afterwards, not even the Earth's contact with and admission to the Intergalactic community-at-large was as personally relevant as 70s TV and comic books. The amount of life-lessons that can be derived from comic books is the subject of further inquiry, to be sure, but here it only seems to soften the central character's shock upon entering a future so different from the one he left behind. The lack of cultural growth envisioned by the author is also evidenced by his fawning over technology and the worldwide Berkeleyization of the society—singular, as in nothing else really exists, as in total assimilation of every culture. We are the Borg! Everyone sing! Resistance is useless! Despite all my criticism of this book, I enjoyed it, but often for reasons that I think would offend the author's (obviously) liberal sensibilities.

Off the Map

Reviewed by John Filiss

Off the Map (An Expedition deep into Imperialism, Global Economy, and Other Earthly Whereabouts) by Chellis Glendinning (Shambhala Publications, POB 308, Boston, MA 02117, 1999) 200pp., \$21.95 cloth.

Impressive. After reading Chellis Glendinning's excellent *When Technology Wounds*, and her more ambitious (if less focused) *My Name is Chellis and I'm in Recovery from Western Civilization*, I wasn't prepared for a book as stylized and poetic as *Off The Map*. A refreshing sense of invention marks the writing: the abruptness of staccato sentences offset by longer, dream-like passages...sudden but intelligible shifts in narrative on nearly every page...dystopian imagery, but in a work that never makes you lose hope.

The book's theme, or leitmotif, is maps. Its focus is the immiseration and spiritual aridity of what we call progress.

We are all aware of what technological society has done to the natural world; Chellis pushes further, revealing what our culture has done to us, how it drains our capacity to feel, to experience, to live. We become semblances of human beings, unaware of the earth beneath our feet, the sky above us, the trembling of branches beneath the breeze. The real world in which we live becomes increasingly lost to us, off the map of our society's renderings and requirements.

Off The Map ranges over topics as diverse as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Chellis's desert wanderings with her friend Snowflake Martinez, Winnie The Pooh, highlights in the history of English colonialism, the vicious molestation of her and her brother by their father, bicycles and roads and Manifest Destiny, etc. Despite the range, it is notable that not only is the narrative thread never lost, but each topic seems, without contrivance, to be part of a greater whole.

History itself is recounted with concision, and to real effect. Here is a look at the horrors of the Industrial Revolution in England.

"The empire turns on itself. It always has. The blatant turning against the people and land in faraway places mirrors the same turning within the empire itself. Hinc Abundant Leones. The year is 1770. Lancashire County, England, heartland of Britain, where tales of the infamous Robin Hood still pass from mother to daughter by the crackling hearth. Find it on the map. Life here is good. The weaver is working in his stone cottage. His little ones play as they clean the weft; the weaver's wife

cards and spins. The older girls hoe their vegetable garden and walk about the village, gossiping and showing their skirts. The weaver climbs onto his roof to repair the thatching. His family is growing their own carrots and herbs, raising chickens and turkeys, earning twenty shillings a week.

"The year is 1820. Lancashire County. The empire turns on itself. Life is no longer good. In a single generation, the land has been made unrecognizable by the assault of industrialism. The houses, now better described as hovels, are blackened by smoke belching from six-story textile factories. Gardens are dry from neglect and overrun by char-faced vagrants. Just as in India, the local weavers are taxed, and the lower prices of factory-made goods force them to give up. They labor now sixteen hours a

day at machines that dictate the pace in filthy little rooms, earning five shillings a week. For any spinner found with his window open, the penalty is one shilling. For a spinner late to his machine, two shillings. Everything seems lost. The community is broken. The weaver's children are strapped to their stations with hemp, and the foreman stomps down the aisles using a leather piece to whip those who are slumped over, hysterical with fear, or numb with boredom."

Chellis's past works have been important—in fact, her *When Technology Wounds* is still without peer in its category. But *Off The Map* brings her work to a new level, and marks her maturation as one of the most important writers focused on the most important issue of our time—escaping the bondage of our civilization.



The EXIT Collection

Reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

The EXIT Collection edited by George Petros (TaciT, Chicago, 1998) \$25.00 paper.

"We are Hate in search of celebrity."
—from the title page

"EXIT—outlaw Liberal Fascist Sci Fi Pop Art magazine, fusion of Social Realism and Surrealism, born of frenzies of beauty and anger, died in hazy sunset of Western history, sustained throughout by dire necessity and the fires of Marijuana & Absinthe and the coolness of cool music & cool sex...pornographic fusion of social hygiene and sultry decadence, born in frenzies of Revolution and Crystal Meth...sustained throughout by stolen money...and the excitement of sacrifice..."

—from the introduction by the editor

So what do the likes of Henry Rollins, H.R. Giger, Anton LaVey, Marilyn Manson, Charles Manson, John Wayne Gacy, and many others have in common? They've all contributed to the now-defunct *EXIT* at one time or another. Serial killers, satanists, artists, poets...quite a mixture. According to the review copy cover letter, "back issues of the magazine commonly trade hands between collectors for upwards of \$100, with \$200 or more not being unheard of." There's no accounting for taste; *EXIT* is definitely not mine. When dealing with a project like this, an important question might be "what is the function of transgressive art?"

The texts and graphics in the collection definitely stretch the limits of "good taste" (with their boringly consistent Nazi iconography and violent sexuality), thereby transgressing bourgeois standards of art and morality. Transgression is meant to shock, and much of the material in *EXIT* probably succeeds, if the target audience is a relatively complacent white middle class crowd unfamiliar with the ugly underbelly of American suburban life. The rebellion against American puritanical culture is nothing particularly novel; every generation flirts with some form of it: socialism, free love, radical theater and art, feminism, drug use, "Negro music," unconventional science and/or spirituality...all these things have been around to irritate staid parents and authority figures for the past hundred years or so. What distinguishes the *EXIT* gang from the rest of the crowd is that there appears to be nothing inherently liberating about any of the stuff they have produced; they seem to revel in extremism for the sake of extremism, shock for the sake of shock.

The attempts at social satire, in the form of false historical *New York Times* front pages, fall flat. They are not satire so much as

nonsense. Satire relies on a keen critical ability and a serious awareness of what the real issues of the day are. Then a searing wit is needed, as well as a propensity for being clever and skillful with colloquialisms. All of this is painfully absent in *EXIT*. For all the shortcomings of the Church of the Sub-Genius (and there were shortcomings aplenty), those who partook of its scandals and pranks had humor in their arsenal. Even if the Church was always a self-parody and a colossal inside(r)-joke, it was a joke. *EXIT* took itself far too seriously as Art.

Transgression of cultural norms only requires a passing acquaintance with the icons and symbols of what is loathsome to dominant morals. Nearly everyone who survived the public school system has an idea of what are the most hated symbols and trappings to those who control us; we got in trouble with teachers, counselors, psychologists, cops, and our parents because of our interest in them when we were younger. Many of us grew out of that sort of instinctual attention-grabbing. Some of us didn't. For those who are still stuck in juvenile nose-thumbing, there's *EXIT*. For more sophisticated eurocentrics, there's de Sade. The main problem with antimoralism, however, is that its adherents (whether cruel or indifferent, sadists or nihilists) remain wedded to the constraints of moralism. All they have accom-

plished through their postures of rejection is the creation of a mirror-image of bourgeois morality: bourgeois antimorality. They are totally dependent on the continued existence of bourgeois morality in order for their peers and fans (to say nothing of themselves) to continue to recognize them as rebels and troublemakers.

There's a section in the *EXIT* Collection with quotes and aphorisms by Nietzsche (probably put in because of most people's incorrect association of him with Nazism) and graphics by an assortment of freaks. But the *EXIT* gang, like most others who only read a smattering of his philosophy, miss the most interesting part of Nietzsche's ideas: the transvaluation of values. The more authentically radical and revolutionary project is the transvaluation (not just turning it upside-down) of morality. When humans dispense with the confines of moralism (whether bourgeois or leftist), we can start acting like free individuals; we can base our behavior on solidarity and mutual aid—not because some smart person said we must in order to be in their club, but because we can perceive it to be in our interest.

Even if it is a commitment to the ugliest parts of it, the people who created, contributed, sustained, and paid for *EXIT*, are just another bunch of folks committed to the infinite continuation of the status quo.

Homo phobia.



Alternative press review

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

Although the "Alternative Press Review" column has been missing from recent issues of *Anarchy*, we will attempt to resume exchanges with selected non-anarchist, "alternative" periodicals. And we will continue to review periodicals received in future issues. All reviews in this column are by Jason McQuinn.

Publishers, please note: To ensure that your publications are reviewed in future issues, send all zines and magazines to our current reviewer address: C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, USA.

THE BAFFLER

#11/1998 (POB 378293, Chicago, IL 60637) is another kick-ass issue of this 12-page must-read literary/critical journal. This issue features editor Thomass Frank's "Triangulation Nation: Affirming Mediocrity in a Jaded Age" (with its excellent exposure of the insidious success of the Gannett newspaper chain—publisher of *USA Today* and a slew of mediocre monopoly rags), Paul Maliszewski's hilarious (although almost unreadable due to too-small type) "I Am a Fugitive from Business Journalism," Marc Cooper's personal account of his escape from the CIA/ITT coup against Allende's Chile, and Kim Phillips-Fein's succinct summary of "The Wages of Credit" (on the significance of Chapter Eleven bankruptcy in the modern domestic economy). Past numbers have already sold out, so send these folks \$6 immediately for a sample copy, or better yet \$20 for a 4-issue subscription.

THE BODY POLITIC

Vol.9, #3/May-June '99 (POB 2363, Binghamton, NY 13902; web: www.bodypolitick.org) is an informative 36-page, bimonthly "National Political Choice News Report," including a "Legislative Watch" in each issue. In the May-June issue editor Anne Bower recounts the Spring anti-abortion actions in Buffalo (a shadow of the 1992 Operation Rescue blockades there), and interviews secular humanist Tom Flynn. Single copies are still \$4 postpaid; subscriptions are now \$25/year.

BROKEN PENCIL

The Guide to Alternative Culture in Canada #8/Winter '98 (POB 203, Station P, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 257, Canada; e-mail: halpen@interlog.com) is now an 80-page, semi-annual review magazine, basically aiming to do purely for Canadians what *Factsheet Five* & *Alternative Press Review* have attempted to do for pretty much the entirety of the English-speaking world. And given its much more modest aims, it does better at approximating its goal. This issue's cover story, "Zine Writing the Death of Literature," is a somewhat pretentious introduction to a new generation of Canadian writers and publishers. The issue includes an assessment of the current state of independent Canadian book publishing, a brief history of the Montreal alternative zine scene from the perspective of the editor of *Fish Piss*,

and a "Special Fiction Supplement," along with the usual province by province listing of Canadian zines. Sample copies are \$5; subscriptions are \$12/3 issues in Canada & \$14/3 issues in the U.S.

CAMPUS

Vol.10, #3/Spring '99 (I.S.I., 3901 Centerville Rd, POB 4431, Wilmington, DE 19807-0431; phone: 1-800-526-7022; web site: www.i.s.i.org) is a professionally produced, 24-page right-wing tabloid that bills itself as "the only national student-edited, student-written newspaper for college students." This issue features Marc Levin's "Closing the Pocketbook: Eliminating Mandatory Fees for Political Groups" (aimed at defunding black, ethnic, gay rights, PIRGs, and social activist student groups). Subscriptions are free with (free) I.S.I. membership or \$10/3 issues for non-members.

COVERT ACTION QUARTERLY

#66/Winter '99 (150 Massachusetts Ave, NW #732, Washington, DC 20005) is an essential magazine covering the hidden political and economic machinations which maintain US hegemony behind the scenes around the world—every issue containing important revelations. This issue's cover story is Greg Speeter's "More Buses for the Bang: Tomahawks, Technology and Terror" (on the high-dollar Pentagon budget sending resources down the drain), but the best articles cover the massive US government lies about last year's US bombing of a Sudan pharmaceuticals factory, a short interview with science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke, and a reprint of Barbara Epstein's "Why Postmodernism is Not Progressive" (from the *Socialist Review*). Despite the often shallow level of most articles, including the irritatingly conservative assumptions that capitalism and statism should never be questioned, this magazine remains an important source for current humanist thinking. Subscriptions are \$28.50/year.

GIRLFRIENDS

Vol.5, #7/July '99 (3415 Cesar Chavez St., Suite 101, San Francisco, CA 94110) is a super-glossy, colorful, 48-page advertising-saturated, magazine of "Lesbian Culture, Politics, and Entertainment." The July issue features a cover spotlight on the band Luscious Jackson, and an exploration of the ins and outs of lesbian identity when you start sleeping with men by Joann Loulan. Single copies are \$4.95; subscriptions are now \$29.95/year.

GNOSIS

A Journal of the Western Inner Tradition

#50/Winter 99 & #51/Spring '99 (POB 14820, San Francisco, CA 94114-0820; web: www.gnosismagazine.com & www.lumen.org) is a well-crafted, nonstuffy, 74 to 80-page quarterly journal of gnostic spirituality. Unfortunately the Spring issue is the last that will appear, as publisher Jay Kinney has announced that "a confluence of circumstances and people that have enabled Gnosis to exist up till now have been unraveling at an ever-increasing pace." However, current and back issues remain available. The Winter

issue, on a theme of "Good & Evil," features Jack Boulware on Anton LaVey's disintegrating Church of Satan, and an interview with loose cannon Robert Anton Wilson on conspiracies, aliens, media and Timothy Leary. The Spring issue covers the theme of "The Grail." Sample copies are \$10 postpaid, but back issues are now half price at \$5 each.

HERMENAUT

The Digest of Heady Philosophy #14/Winter '98 (POB 141, Allston, MA 02134; www.birdhouse.org/words/hermenaut; e-mail: editors@hermenaut.com) is a handsome 170-page journal of pop philosophy, or the philosophy of pop-culture, or pseudo-philosophical pop, or something like that. In practice it consists of highly personal visions—from wise to witty and from wittiest to worthless—woven around themes you may well never have wanted to think about, even if they're tapping you on your shoulder. Readers may find it charming or chimerical. It's your call. The cover theme for this issue is "Anorexia/Technology." Look here if you have a hankering for a mini-bio of (fanatically) saintly seer Simone Weil by editor Joshua Glenn, Lisa Carver's predictably sanguine "Interview with an Anorexic," an exhumation of Karen Carpenter by John Marr, or Clarke Cooper's erudite put-down of pumped up asteroid flicks in "My Life as a Wookiee." The cover price is still \$6; subscriptions are \$20/4 issues.

INDY UNLEASHED

Our National Dialogue on Race #7/ Spring '99 (Owen Thomas, POB 9651, Columbus, OH 43209; e-mail: vorblirk@delphi.com; web: <http://people.delphi.com/vorblirk>) is a 12-page zine consisting of literate reviews of zines and comics. Enjoyable, light reading. Too bad it's not longer. Sample copies are \$1.65.

IN THESE TIMES

Vol.23, #14/June 11, '99 (Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647; web: www.inthesetimes.com) is a professionally produced, 30-page fortnightly "alternative newsmagazine" providing an ongoing left-liberal perspective on major national and international news stories in a uniquely timely manner—impossible for periodicals appearing less frequently. The June 11th issue includes a comparison of Bill Clinton with Woodrow Wilson and David Moberg's reformist suggestions of "New Rules for the Global Economy." Subscriptions are \$34.95/year (26 issues), or \$18.95/6 months.

LIBERTY

Vol.13, #3/March thru #7/July '99 (POB 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368) is now a 64-page monthly "libertarian" magazine which attempts to make something of an intellectual case for its religious faith in "free market" economics and "private property." The March issue includes a warning that government Y2K preparations include military options for dealing with potential discontent, a look at the frenzied acquisition of Ayn Rand's manuscripts (who'd

want to own such inferior prose besides cultists and speculators?), and an interesting update on "The Politics of Marijuana: The People Strike Back" by Paul Armentano. The July issue includes an excellent, skeptical look at the absurdly pro-NATO-bombing propaganda by David Steele. Subscriptions are now \$29.50/year (12 issues).

LIP

#11/Jan.-Feb.'99 (1400 West Devon #243, Chicago, IL 60660; e-mail: lip@enteract.com) is a very nicely-produced 64-page magazine of "radical common sense." My major complaint is the exceedingly small typeface which makes reading it a pain. But if you have good eyes, this is an interesting, sometimes provocative read. The Jan.-Feb. issue includes a good overview by Kari Lydersen of the "Shame of the Cities: Gentrification in the New Urban America" (though it unfortunately doesn't cover wider historical connections of capitalist development), an interesting "where are they now" update on 1970s urban guerrillas now out of prison and back in the midst of mainstream U.S. society by Daniel Burton-Rose, and Greg Ruggiero on "Pirate Radio vs. Corporate Piracy: Who Owns the Air?" Subscriptions are \$24/year (six issues).

LOVING MORE

#17/Spring '99 (POB 4358, Boulder, CO 80306-0358; e-mail: ryam@lovenmore.com; web site: www.lovenmore.com) is a comfortably readable, quarterly 40-page polyfidelity magazine for all those unhappy with the limitations of monogamy, whether it be lifetime or serial! This issue's theme is "New Relationship Energy," including many short pieces like Roma Weiss' on "My Husband's Girlfriend," Leanna Wolf's interesting research on "African Polygamy," and Deborah Anapol's "On Jealousy." Also included in each issue are reviews, personal ads and news briefs. Cover price is \$6; subscriptions are \$24/year.

MSSRT NEWSLETTER

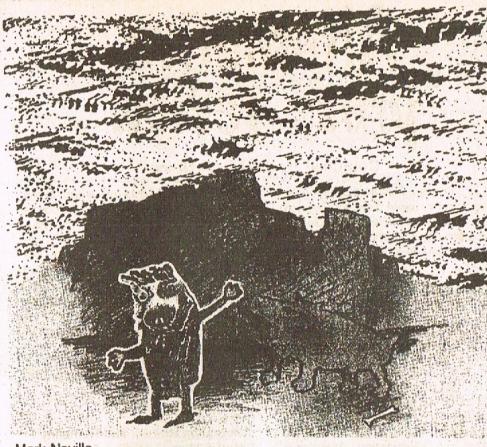
Vol.12, #2/Summer '99 (Chris Dodge/Dan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55465; phone: 707-874-3104; website: www.north-coast-xpress.com; doretki; e-mail: doretki@sonic.net) is an excellent 48-page special issue of this newsprint magazine covering the NATO/KLA war in Yugoslavia, featuring Michael Parenti's searing NATO expose titled "The Destruction of Yugoslavia," two anti-war columns by liberal media critics Norman Solomon, Sam Smith on "Reasons to Stop the War" (Russian disgust with NATO aggression), Ramsey Clark on "The Bombing of Yugoslavia & Iraq," and Mark Epstein's important "Unmasking NATO." Everyone should have a chance to read this issue of this significant voice of the alternative press. Single copies are \$5; subscriptions are \$20/year.

OFF OUR BACKS

Vol.29, #5/May '99 (2337B 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009) is a long-standing 18-page feminist news tabloid with a strong emphasis on international coverage and lesbian separatist issues. The May issue focuses on "Women and War in Kosovo," with views (mostly) for and against the disastrous NATO bombing campaign, including a sadly naive and ahistorical vote for imperialist war by longtime oob collective member Carol Anne Douglas. The issue also includes debunkings of Bigfoot (in "Bigfoot's Screen Test" and "Tracking Bigfoot on the Internet") and urban legends ("The Snuff Film: The Making of an Urban Legend" and "Bitter Harvest: The Organ-Snatching Urban Legends"), along with a valuable review of Philip Davis' *The Goddess Unmasked*. Despite its often over biases and conflicts of interest, this journal includes worthwhile & critical information for our amazingly gullible society. Subscriptions are \$35/year.

OUNDINGS

Summer '99 (Friends of the Federation, 1309-13th Ave S, Seattle, WA 98144) is the 12-page newsletter of the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, now "an association of fourteen intentional communities which hold land, labor and other resources in common," consisting of short reports on activities at individual communities and a calendar of events. Subscriptions are included with a \$50 Friends of the Federation membership, which also gets you a copy of the huge *Communities Directory* or an accompanying subscription to *Communities Magazine*. The newsletter alone is available for \$25/year. Well worth the price if you want to know about the wide range of intentional communities now operating in North America.



Mark Neville

cludes "Liberal Feminists Sell their Souls for Clinton" by radical feminist Judith Paige. Each issue now includes a long listing of "Festivals and Meetings." Subscriptions are now \$25/year (11 issues).

PR WATCH

Vol.6, #1/First Quarter '99 (3318 Gregory St., Madison, WI 53711; website: www.prwatch.org) is a very important 12-page newsletter of "Public Interest Reporting on the Public Relations Industry," certainly one of the pillars of capitalist ideological strength. This issue features a profile of Peter Sandman, whose unorthodox PR "risk communication" strategies are influencing many major corporate polluters in their choices of how best to co-opt community opposition. This is valuable stuff—of which every activist should be aware. Subscriptions are \$19.97/year (6 issues).

THE VOLUNTARYIST

#98/June '99 (POB 1275, Gramling, SC 29348) is a nicely-printed, 8-page bimonthly newsletter promoting voluntary social relations and private property (and "not voluntary communal property"). This issue features John Hasnas' "The Myth of The Rule of Law: Part II," which argues the unavoidable truth that law is intensely political and not an objective or natural phenomenon (if only this same critique could be turned on the rule of capital & market as well, this zine would be a whole lot better). Subscriptions are \$18/year (or .45oz or 1.4gm of fine gold).

THE WASHINGTON FREE PRESS #39/May-June '99 (1463 E. Republican St., #178, Seattle, WA 98112; web: www.speakeasy.org/wfp) is a bimonthly 16-page alternative community tabloid serving the Seattle area. This issue features a section of "War News," including information on the reckless disregard NATO has shown for the human, cultural and ecological results of its bombing campaign in Yugoslavia. Greg Bates interviews media critic Norman Solomon. And Greg Turner contributes his "Confessions of a Corporate Bookseller," recounting all the petty compromises he was forced to make during his years working at Borders and Barnes & Noble stores. There's no excuse for missing this paper if you live in Seattle, but it's worth a read wherever you live. Subscriptions are still \$12/year.